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war. The American Peace Society does not insist that it is wholly right. It does insist that it is pursuing the right as it sees the right. Whether or not its friends grant the \$6,000 necessary to complete the requirements nominated in the generous offer of the Carnegie Endowment of International Peace, the American Peace Society will not falter in its effort to end, and to end as far as possible forever, the attempts to achieve unto human freedom by the means of human slaughter.

SINCE, THEREFORE!

SINCE THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS proposed out of Versailles represents an attempt to preserve an international world order by coercion; since such a world order thus preserved would be unworthy because dangerous; since the way of peace can be found only along the road of conciliation; since it is not executive action but international conference that can establish peace between nations; since force as a guarantor of world peace has never succeeded, and since organized international force has never made nations afraid to go to war; since any League with adequate force at its disposal is a superstate, and since there is no reasonable prospect of such a superstate; since it is unreasonable to expect States to promise in advance to pool their forces in contingencies which when they arrive may give rise to disagreement; since it is unreasonable to expect neutral States to foreswear their neutrality for evermore; since hitherto no nation has ever been able to prevent its subjects and citizens from trading with its enemy, demonstrated over and over by the decisions of prize courts of practically every nation; since the League of Nations proposes to boycott all the member States against an offending nation; since it is difficult to see how forty-odd nations can be expected to do what no one nation has hitherto been able to do, namely, effectively to prevent its subjects or citizens from trading with the enemy in time of war: Therefore, it would seem that there is no hope for the peace of the world except through organized international conference and the moral force which it can engender; therefore, any association of nations for the promotion of peace must be an inclusive association, free of all suspicions of a superstate, bent upon the establishment of concrete justice in definite issues as they arise from time to time between nations. Speaking of the Constitution of the United States, Dr. David Jayne Hill has recently said:

"It is the declaration of the deliberate and permanent decision of the people to the effect that their spasms, their emotions, their class interests, and their speculative theories shall not destroy their juristic security."

That, it appears to us, must be the key note of any successful association of nations that is to be.

A WORD TO MR. HARDING

MR. HARDING, you are about to become the President of these United States. We know little of your qualifications for this high office. We understand that you have been a successful man of business. You evidently have the confidence of your neighbors and of large numbers of persons in your native State. You have been in the United States Senate. Evidently you made many friends in that body, for at a crucial moment they rallied to your support, with the result that you were nominated for the highest office in the gift of the people. We have looked upon you and heard you speak, and we confess you look and speak the part we would have you play. Certainly thus far you have conducted yourself with all reasonable dignity and on every occasion, as far as we know, you have shown rare, good American taste. We wish you well. The American people will demand great things of you. It is literally true that the world hangs upon your every word. The years before you seem more propitious for constructive service than were the years facing President Wilson in 1913, for as now we know, Mr. Wilson faced a world at war, you face the possibilities of a world at peace, a world organized under the establishment of that justice between States which must spell a finer happiness for America and for all nations everywhere.

You have been elected President of the United States because of a widespread opposition to the Wilson Administration and because men believed you would be guided during this reconstruction period by an intelligent and virile cabinet. You could not please the American people more at this time than by appointing for your Secretary of State Mr. Elihu Root and for your Attorney General Mr. Charles E. Hughes. With the aid of such men you could lift your eyes above those debts due to us out of Europe, above the difficulties confronting us because of Mexico, of Japan, of German cables, of near eastern oil fields and the rest, to the two great outstanding accomplishments awaiting your decision and action. Under your leadership we must first end the war with Germany; and we must then tell the world the kind of an association of nations we are willing to join for the overthrow of the war system.

In accordance with your pre-election pledge, we are expecting a prompt conclusion to the technical war with Germany. Since it was the Congress that declared the state of war to exist between the United States and Germany, April 6, 1917, and since it was the Congress that declared, December 7, 1917, that a state of war existed between the United States and the Austrian-Hungarian Government, there can be no doubt that it is within the power of the Congress by a joint resolution to repeal those two declarations. Indeed, such a resolution, known

as House Joint Resolution No. 327, was passed by the Congress May 21 last. Mr. Wilson's veto of that resolution, May 27, contained no technical objection to such a procedure. When you have assumed your office, therefore, backed by a majority of supporters in both the Senate and the House, there can be no insurmountable difficulty in the way of ending the war. We have no doubt that will be done.

You have frequently expressed your approval of an association of nations organized for the purposes of promoting international peace. Naturally that association will shape itself in your mind in one of two ways: either you will favor the modification of the present League of Nations to the end that we may join it; or, that meeting with your disapproval, you will outline for the other nations of the world the sort of an association the American people will accept. Surely, therefore, it cannot be out of place for us to remind you of the significance of a certain passage in the Naval Appropriations Act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917. We are familiar with the essential section of that act, for it was drafted by James L. Slayden, one time president of the American Peace Society, and submitted by Congressman Walter L. Hensley, at the time a member of our Executive Committee. That you may have this suggestive statute before you, we reprint it as follows:

"It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to adjust and settle its international disputes through mediation or arbitration, to the end that war may be honorably avoided. It looks with apprehension and disfavor upon a general increase of armament throughout the world, but it realizes that no single nation can disarm, and that without a common agreement upon the subject every considerable power must maintain a relative standing in military strength.

"In view of the premises, the President is authorized and requested to invite, at an appropriate time, not later than the close of the war in Europe, all the great governments of the world to send representatives to a conference which shall be charged with the duty of formulating a plan for a court of arbitration or other tribunal, to which disputed questions between nations shall be referred for adjudication and peaceful settlement, and to consider the question of disarmament and to submit their recommendation to their respective governments for approval. The President is hereby authorized to appoint nine citizens of the United States, who, in his judgment, shall be qualified for the mission by eminence in the law and by devotion to the cause of peace, to be representatives of the United States in such conference. The President shall fix the compensation of said representatives, and such secretaries and other employees as may be needed. Two hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated and set aside and placed at the disposal of the President to carry into effect the provisions of this paragraph."

We repeat, Mr. Harding, we wish for you and your administration through the portentous years opening before the world, all possible strength and purpose, for strength and purpose, more than ever before, are now very necessary unto the healing of the nations.

PEACE BEGINS AT HOME

WELL-REGULATED CHARITY, which Pope called "all mankind's concern," begins at home. We are not troubled to believe this, for it tallies with our common sense. The Chinese speak with no little contempt of him who hangs his lantern on a pole which is seen from afar, but gives no light below. That is the opinion of most of us, at least theoretically. In business we listen most attentively to the man who can and does attend to his own business. He who taught us to say "Give us this day our daily bread" must have felt the importance of a prudential concern in one's own affairs. Peace, also "all mankind's concern," must, we suspect, likewise begin at home.

The Monroe Doctrine was an expression of the principle that international peace, so far as the United States are concerned, must begin with peace in the American hemisphere. We have not always realized this fact. Professor Hiram Bingham, for example, believed shortly before the war that the Monroe Doctrine was an "obsolete shibboleth." Since the war he has expressed the view that we now need a more emphatic adherence to the Monroe Doctrine. He believes that peace in the Caribbeans, in Mexico, in South America, depends now upon a notice both to Europe and to the Far East that we purpose to adhere strictly to the international policy set forth by President Monroe.

Five years ago Mr. William Jennings Bryan, criticizing the friends of the League to Enforce Peace, approved that portion of their program which called for an international court outside the scope of diplomacy, and went on to suggest that the decisions "be enforceable by two groups, one in the Eastern and one in the Western hemisphere." He granted further that it might be well to have a third group of Asiatic powers. Mr. Bryan's theory plainly was that an international court should be set up for States belonging naturally to the same group. He believed that issues arising between the groups would be peaceably resolved by "time and investigation." We would thus be saved from European and Asiatic brawls. The Monroe Doctrine would remain in full force and vigor. It would eliminate the "dangers embodied in the plan which has been advanced by the League to Enforce Peace." Mr. Bryan believed, evidently, that peace should begin at home.

When in the latter part of the summer of 1907 war